APPENDIX: COTABATO MANOBO PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of the Cotabato Manobo language are listed here to show the phonetic, phonemic, and practical orthography. (See also Lyman 1971.) In this appendix, glottal stop is written as ʔ; normally glottal stop is unwritten except at word-final position, in which case it is written with a grave accent mark (`). All phonemes are produced with eggressive lung air. All vowel phonemes are voiced.

Phonetic	Phonemic	Practical	Illustration	
[a], [ʌ]	/a/	a	alat	'open woven basket'
[b]	/b/	b	bataʔ	'child'
[k], [ḳ]	/k/	k	kayu	'wood'
[d]	/d/	d	dalid	'eagle'
[ɛ]	/ɛ/	e	ebel	'smoke'
[ə] [e]	/ə/	é	épéʔ	'master'
[g]	/g/	g	gatas	'milk'
[h]	/h/	h	habet	'carrying sling'
[i], [ɩ]	/i/	i	iyug	'back'
[l]	/l/	l	lepoʔ	'coconut'
[m]	/m/	m	mata	'eye'
[n]	/n/	n	nanas	'pineapple'
[ŋ]	/ŋ/	ng	ngipen	'teeth'
[ɔ̂], [ɔ̌]	/ɔ̂/	o	owong	'canoe'
[p]	/p/	p	paliʔ	'wound'
[s]	/s/	s	sapiʔ	'cow'
[t]	/t/	t	tabuʔ	'cup'
[u], [ʊ]	/u/	u	ubal	'monkey'
[w]	/w/	w	wayeg	'water'
[y]	/y/	y	yu	'you (plural)'
[ʔ]	/ʔ/		piʔpiʔ	'to wash'

The following chart shows the position and manner of articulation of phonemes. vl indicates voicelessness and vd voicing. Allophones are in brackets.

CONSONANTS:

Manner of Articulation		Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
		Point of Articulation			
Stop:	vl		t	k	ʔ
	vd	b	d	g	
Fricative:	vl	p	s		h
Nasal:	vd	m	n	ŋ	
Lateral:	vd		l		
nonsyllabic vocoids		w	y		

VOWELS:

		Front Unrounded	Mid Unrounded	Back Rounded
High:	Close	i [i]		u [u]
	Open	[ɩ]		[ʊ]
Mid:	Close	ɛ [e]	ə [ə]	
	Open	[ɛ]	[ʌ]	ɔ̂ [ɔ̂]
Low:	Close			[ɔ̌]
	Open		a [a]	

Description of Consonants

Stops: There are three voiceless stops, t, k, and ʔ, which are articulated at the alveolar, velar, and glottal points respectively. k has two allophones, [k] and backed voiceless velar [ḳ]. [ḳ] occurs infrequently (and only with some speakers), contiguous to the vocoid [ɔ̌], or possibly in association with the vowel sequence [ɔ̂] + [ɔ̂], [ɔ̌] + [ɔ̌], or [ɔ̂] + [ɔ̌]. New literates had no difficulty in writing or reading the phoneme k, which added weight to the conclusion that [k] and [ḳ] are allophones. Examples:

[kɔ̌nɔ̌ḳ]	/kɔ̂nɔ̂k/	konok	'white ants'
[siʔɔ̌ḳɔʔ]	/siʔɔ̂kɔ̂ʔ/	siʔokoʔ	'wasp'

There are three voiced stops, b, d, and g, articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points respectively.

Stop Contrasts:

t and d	tanaʔ	‘earth’	dalit	‘hawk, eagle’
	danaʔ	‘by’	dalid	‘root’
	togoʔ	‘stringed instrument’	katal	‘noose’
	dogoʔ	‘nearly’	dadal	‘a slope’
k and ʔ	pilak	‘pesos’	talak	‘to keep’
	pilaʔ	‘type of ant’	talaʔ	‘to pass by’
	melok	‘bird species’	badak	‘jack fruit’
	meloʔ	‘very’	badaʔ	‘to whisper because of laryngitis’
k and g	anak	‘offspring’	kelang	‘corn’
	anag	‘to hit target’	gelang	‘stalk of fungus’
	lukot	‘waste tissue’	tuduk	‘ridge of hill’
	lugot	‘to be pursued’	tudug	‘to sleep’
ʔ and g	baʔu	‘sea turtle’	kalaʔ	‘frying pan’
	bagu	‘a small tree’	kalag	‘to bite skin without puncturing’
	simag	‘tomorrow’	lénég	‘slow’
	simaʔ	‘small projecting piece on bolo, etc.’	léséʔ	‘to crackle’

Fricatives: There are three voiceless fricatives, p, s and h, articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and glottal points respectively.

Fricative Contrasts:

h and ʔ	bagah	‘glowing coal’	pelah	‘back of tongue’
	bagaʔ	‘lungs’	pelaʔ	‘underarm’
	bulah	‘debris dropping into eye’	luhub	‘to pull on clothes’
	bulaʔ	‘white’	luʔeb	‘cylinder for storing arrows’

Nasals: There are three voiced nasals, m, n, and ng, which are articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points respectively.

Nasal Contrasts:

n and ng	dalan	'path'	sambiˀan	'to exchange'
	delang	'tree species'	sambiˀang	'mouth of river'
	nigu	'winnowing basket'	tuntun	'to hand down'
	ngibu	'thousand'	tungsung	'firefly'

Laterals: There is only one lateral, l, which is voiced and articulated at the alveolar point.

Nonsyllabic Vocoids: There are two nonsyllabic vocoids. The voiced high back close rounded w has been interpreted as a bilabial consonant. The voiced high front close unrounded y has been interpreted as an alveolar consonant.

Description of Vowels

Front Vowels (i and é): i has two allophones: high, close, unrounded vocoid [i] and high, open, unrounded vocoid [ι]. [ι] is restricted in its occurrence to closed syllables, that is, CVC syllables. [i] occurs in positions other than in closed syllables. (In the following examples syllable boundaries are indicated by a period.)

[pιn.tιt]	/pintit/	pintit	'a small duck'
[li.pιt]	/lipit/	lipit	'a peg or clip'
[li.hi]	/lihi/	lihi	'bad luck'
[si.lιŋ]	/siliŋ/	siling	'spirit beings of the water'.

é has two allophones, mid, open, unrounded vocoid [ɛ] and mid, close, unrounded vocoid [e]. [e] occurs only following k in open syllables (CV syllables); [ɛ] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[bɛ.bɛˀ]	/bɛbɛˀ/	bébéˀ	'grandparent'
[ke.gət]	/kɛgət/	kégét	'to squeak'
[ke.bɛŋ]	/kɛbɛŋ/	kébéng	'lying part in the water'
[ke.mɛt]	/kɛmɛt/	kémét	'to hold with thumb and finger'

i and é Contrasts:

ki	'we incl'	betiˀ	'loop'
ké	'we excl'	betéˀ	'to crackle'
legpiˀ	'to fold end to end'	di	'he'
legpéˀ	'to follow contour of hill'	dé	particle
kilkil	'to master'	kuwiˀ	'to quiver (at tip of nose)'
kélkél	'a rasp for wood'	kuwék	'to squeal'

Mid Vowels (e and a): e is a mid, close unrounded vocoid.

e and é Contrasts:

kelet	'close together'	tugek	'to brace, prop'
kelét	'species of bird'	tugék	'to break down'
lebés	'to splash out'	beletéˀ	'small red ant'
lébéd	'to crawl (insect)'	beléséˀ	'species of bird'
pengké	'name of woman'	lesék	'to dive under water'
béngkéˀ	'mumps'	lepéˀ	'to lay ears back (dog)'

a has two allphones: low, open, unrounded, vocoid [a] and mid, open, unrounded vocoid [ʌ]. [ʌ] occurs only preceding glottal stop or h; [a] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[ba.tʌˀ]	/bataˀ/	bataˀ	'child'
[na.nʌˀ]	/nanaˀ/	nanaˀ	'pus'
[su.wʌh]	/suwah/	suwah	'to vomit'
[la.lʌh]	/lalah/	lalah	'refers to water being hot'

a and e Contrasts:

katal	'loop'	pala	'to shovel'
katel	'yaws'	pelaˀ	'armpit'
liwas	'male monkey'	stud	'to step up on something'
liwes	'to skirt around mountain'	etud	'to stop'
tabuˀ	'cup'	kalang	'bolo laid sharp edge up'
tebu	'sugar cane'	kelang	'corn'

Back Vowels (u and o): u has two allophones: high, close, rounded vocoid [u] and high, open, rounded vocoid [ʊ]. [ʊ] occurs only in closed syllables (CVC); [u] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[ki.tʊt]	/kitut/	kitut	'blackened tip of arrow'
[ka.yu]	/kayu/	kayu	'wood'
[hu.di]	/hudi/	hudi	'last'
[u.lu.ˀʊl]	/uluˀul/	uluˀul	'to shave whole head'

o has two allophones: mid, close, rounded vocoid [ɔ̂] and low, close, rounded vocoid [ɔ]. [ɔ̌] occurs only preceding ˀ, h, g, and word initially before k. It occurs contiguous to [ḳ] in the few instances where this phone has been recorded, for example, [lu.ḳɔ̌tɔ̌ḳ] /lukɔ̂tɔ̂k/ 'to boil'. [ɔ̂] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[kə.lɔ̌h]	/kəlɔ̂h/	keloh	'young boy's name'
[tɔ̂.gɔ̌ˀ]	/tɔ̂gɔ̂ˀ/	togoˀ	'stringed musical instrument'
[ɔ̌.kɔ̂n]	/ɔ̂kɔ̌n/	okon	'young girl'

[mə.dɔ̌.ˀɔ̂] /mədɔ̂ˀɔ̂/ medoˀo 'many'

u and o Contrasts:

lebuk	'bamboo species'	bulug	'to do to no purpose'
lebok	'to curve down'	bulog	'white speck in eye'
ku	'I'	kulong	'to hold in hand above shoulder'
ko	'you'	kolong	'string from which fish are hung'
lepuˀ	'to snap, break'	uton	'fish'
lepoˀ	'coconut'	uto	'to place on head'

Because there is a tendency in this language towards vowel harmony within words, the following lists of constrasts have been prepared to show the six vowel phonemes in contrast in bisyllabic words. The four vowels that occur with the highest frequency have been kept constant in the first vowel position of each group of contrasts.

Contrasts using e as the constant vowel:

keling	'species of bamboo'
kelét	'medium-sized parrot'
keleng	'to cut up wood into small pieces'
kelang	'maize, corn'
kelung	'to take shelter from the rain or sun'
kelong	'scab'

Contrasts using a as the contant vowel:

sakit	'pain'
sagéˀ	'shore, rim of sea shelf exposed when tide is out'
saket	'sweet smelling herb'
sabaˀ	'to hold'
taguˀ	'to contain, to place in'
agoh	'time, appearance'

Contrasts using u as the constant vowel:

gulis	'straight stripes'
kuléh	'to push something away with a stick'
kulet	'curly hair'
kudaˀ	'horse'
kulut	'an instrument used to shape out canoe hull'
kulot	'bracket fungus (a mushroom)'

Contrasts using i as the constant vowel:

siling	'spirit beings of the water'
(é does not occur in this position)	
sileng	'to squint'
silang	'sun shower' (silang silang)
silung	'to glare with strong light in the dark'
silong	'to be out of luck'

Distribution of the Phonemes within the Roots

The root has been chosen as the basic reference unit in describing the distribution of the phonemes. Most roots may stand in isolation. When roots are affixed, the root may stand either initially or finally in the word according to the affix or affixes used. With one exception the affixes so far discovered do not affect the phonetic or phonemic structure of the root, though a root-initial vowel may affect a root-final vowel of a prefix. (See the last section of this Appendix.)

It is assumed that glottal stop does not occur root initially. The phonetic evidence is strongly in favor of the existence of vowel-initial roots. There are no roots with a distinct initial glottal stop. In consequence there is no contrast between glottal-stop-initial roots and roots that are otherwise identical.

It need not be argued that glottal stop must pattern after the other stops, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, and *b*, which may occur word or root initially. Its function is not identical with the other stops. It is commonly interpolated nonphonemically between two vowels brought together at word boundaries. It is also sometimes inserted phonemically between a vowel-final root and a following suffix. (See the last section of this Appendix.)

When the commonly used verbal prefix *eg*- is preceded in an utterance by a vowel-final word, the vowel of the prefix is always reduced. Example:

kenaʔ di egtudug ---> kenaʔ digtudug 'the place where he sleeps'

This strengthens the argument that glottal stop does not occur root or word initially.

Roots comprise one or more syllables. All roots other than particles and series 1 and 2 pronouns (i.e., all roots which may take affixes) comprise at least two syllables.

A syllable is a unit of sound made up of a vowel, or a vowel preceded and/or followed by a consonant. The following are the syllable patterns occurring in Cotabato Manobo (V is vowel; C is consonant):

V	[a.kam]	/akam/	akam	'brown crab'
VC	[ag.daw]	/agdaw/	agdaw	'sun'
CV	[ba.yi]	/bayi/	bayi	'a female person or animal'
CVC	[bak.bak]	/bakbak/	bakbak	'hammer'

These syllables combine to form roots in the following manner and with the restrictions listed below.

V may be followed by a CV or CVC pattern or both. Examples:

V + CV	[i.lu̯]	/ilu/	ilu	'orphan'
V + CVC	[u.tɔ̂n]	/uton/	uton	'fish'
V + CV + CVC	[i.lə.gʌʔ]	/ilegaʔ/	ilegaʔ	'to cook'

VC may be followed by CVC and rarely by CV. Examples:

VC + CVC	[un.sʊy]	/unsuy/	unsuy	‘smoking pipe’
VC + CV	[ug.pu]	/ugpu/	ugpu	‘the end of something’

V and VC occur only root initially.

CVC and CV patterns may combine to produce up to four, and rarely five, syllable roots. Examples:

CV + CV	[ma.ta]	mata	‘eye’
CVC + CVC	[tɪg.dəg]	tigdeg	‘to stand up’
CVC + CV	[tʊg.bu]	tugbu	‘cob of corn’
CVC + CV + CVC	[tɪg.ka.gan]	tigkagan	‘to squat’
CV + CVC	[hi.law]	hilaw	‘sappy, green’
CV + CV + CVC	[gə.gi.lak]	gegilak	‘to be ticklish’
CV + CV + CV + CVC	[ka.lɪm.bʌ.hʊˀ]	kalimbahuˀ	‘small knife’
CVC + CV + CV + CV	[gʊm.bə.li.ya]	gumbeliya	‘flashlight bulb’
CV + CVC + CV + CV	[kə.sɪn.si.li.yu]	kesɪnsiliyu	‘short underpants’

CVC + CVC cannot be followed by either CVC or CV as no roots occur con- taining more than one consonant cluster.

CVC never occurs as a free root but commonly occurs in reduplicated form as a verb root. Examples:

[gɔ̌ŋ.gɔ̌ŋ]	/gɔ̂gɔ̂ŋ/	gonggong	‘to rock a cradle’
[tay.tay]	/taytay/	taytay	‘steps, stairway’

Consonants occurring in this pattern may be homorganic but are never identical. Examples:

[tʊd.tʊd]	/tudtud/	tudtud	‘to peck around’
[kəg.kəg]	/kəgkəg/	kegkeg	‘to process of hardening
[bɪt.bɪt]	/bitbit/	bitbit	‘to hold in one's hand’

Distribution of Consonants

The following analysis is based on a study of about 2,500 roots including all syllable patterns except reduplicated roots of the type $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ as in bakbak ‘frog’. All consonants except glottal stop were found to occur root initially, root medially, and root finally. Glottal stop does not occur root initially.

All consonants except h occur in root-medial consonant clusters formed at the juncture of syllables. In the great majority of cases g is the initial member of the cluster. In 268 words in which consonant clusters occur, g occurs 142 times as the first member of the cluster. The consonants occurring in this position with the next highest frequency are m 43 times and ng 39 times. Other clusters are mostly nasals with a following homorganic non-nasal consonant. The following clusters occur:

Clusters with a stop as the first member:

bl	tablin	'tablet'	one occurrence only
dt	mudted	'small river fish'	one occurrence only
ds	tedsék	'cry of a kalagsuy'	one occurrence only
gb	tigbas	'to cut up'	27 occurrences
gt	ligtiˀ	'gold arm band'	17 occurrences
gd	tigdeg	'to stand up'	13 occurrences
gk	bagkes	'bundle of wood'	36 occurrences
gp	degpul	'blunt ended'	28 occurrences
gs	ligseg	'to clip into place'	9 occurrences
gn	tagnuˀ	'rain drop'	only one occurrence
gw	lugwéhél	'to clang or rattle'	only one occurrence
ˀs	selaˀsaˀ	'cut open bamboo'	only one occurrence

A number of roots have an initial syllable bel or pel in which the e is very short and in fast speech is often heard as bl or pl. The presence of the vowel is confirmed by the fact that new literates consistently write it. Examples:

belahung	'wood borers'
pelaguy	'to flee'
yaka pelaˀ	'not yet'

Clusters with a lateral as the first member:

lk	balku	'large motor launch'	one occurrence only
ly	balyug	'tree species'	one occurrence only

Clusters with a nasal as the first member:

mb	kambing	'goat'	27 occurrences
mk	kiˀumkum	'gilded along axis'	one occurrence only
mp	talumpaˀ	'shoes'	15 ocurrences
nt	antep	'to anticipate'	25 occurrences
nd	sindaw	'to flash or fame up'	24 occurrences
ns	bansaˀ	'tribe, race'	7 occurrences
ngs	salungsung	'small type of bolo'	one occurrence only
ngk	angkaˀ	'to project beyond'	12 occurrences
ngg	sunggud	'bride price'	26 occurrences

Cluster with w as the first member:

wb	lugowbung	'tree species'	one occurrence only

Frequency of consonants: The following chart indicates the order of frequency of consonants occurring root initially, medially, and finally, and medially in a consonant cluster. These frequencies were calculated from root patterns CVC, CVCVC, CVCCVC, CVCCV, VCV, VCCVC, and VCVC. Approximately 1,400 roots were checked.

INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL	MEDIAL IN A CC	TOTAL
l ... 259	l ... 220	ˀ ... 195	g ... 106	l ... 603
t ... 185	b ... 105	t ... 166	k, b 33	t ... 443
s ... 184	p ... 100	ng .. 152	p 31	k ... 398
b ... 157	n 87	k ... 150	n, ng 27	s ... 360
k ... 141	g 83	l ... 120	t, d 25	b ... 334
p 61	t 77	s 99	m 24	g ... 326
g 58	k 74	g 79	s 10	ng .. 240
d 53	s, m.. 67	n 75	w, y, l, ˀ are very infrequent	ˀ ... 234
h 32	d 62	y 60		p ... 222
m 23	ng ... 56	d 52		n ... 213
n, ng, w very infrequent; y and ˀ no occurrence	w 50	b 39	h no occurrence	d ... 192
	ˀ infrequent	y, ˀ, h are very infrequent		m ... 147
				y ... 101
				w 93
				h 88

Distribution of Vowels

An analysis of the vowel sequences of 1,329 roots conforming to the patterns CVCVC, CVCCVC (not including reduplicated monosyllabic roots of the type $C_1V_1C_2.C_1V_1C_2$, e.g., ngokngok 'to cry', siksik 'to bite at fleas', which would *increase* the frequency of vowel harmony considerably), VCCV, CVCCV, VCV, and VCVC indicates a considerable measure of vowel harmony.

The results are tabulated below indicating the total frequency of each vowel, the frequency of occurrence of homophonous vowel sequences actually recorded, and the frequency of occurrence of such sequences estimated for each vowel on the assumption of random (independent) association of all the vowels.

VOWEL	TOTAL FREQUENCY	NUMBER OF HOMOPHONOUS SEQUENCES		PERCENTAGE ABOVE EXPECTED
		OBSERVED	EXPECTED	
a	.319	199	135	148%
u	.234	105	73	144%
e	.200	75	53	141%
i	.134	31	14	221%
o	.080	46	8	575%
é	.036	26	1	2600%

It will be observed that homophonous vowel sequences of each vowel occur much more frequently than expected if the vowels combine randomly in sequences in bisyllabic roots. It is also significant that the bias towards vowel harmony increases inversely with the total frequency of the vowel in the 1,329 roots analysed.

Relative Frequency of the Different Syllable Patterns:

CVCVC	CVCCVC	VCCV and CVCCV	VCV	VCVC
967	136	28	12	186

All vowels except e can occur in any vowel position. (These statements are based on an analysis of about 2,500 roots without restriction of CV structure.)

e never occurs in a root- or word-final open syllable. It is interesting to note that while the other vowels occur with relative frequency in final syllables closed by the nonsyllabic w and y, e is found only twice in this position. In both cases it preceded y in girls' names, which may have been distorted by the practice of familiar addresses. This would suggest that the nonsyllabic w and y do not effect strong closure of a final syllable.

e is also never found preceding w and y in any other position in a word or root, although the other vowels commonly occur before these phonemes in initial or medial position, for example, luwang 'a hollow thing', iya 'the', kelawit 'spear'.

Vowel Distribution with Reference to Other Vowels:

Most of the vowels appear to associate with any other vowel in any sequence. There are, however, a few restrictions on the distribution of vowels in contiguous syllables.

é never precedes a or i and occurs only infrequently before the other vowels, once before u, twice before e, and once before o in a mock word, ngeyow 'the cry of a cat'. It occurs 37 times before another é.

é may follow any vowel except i, but occurs only three times following o and a respectively. It occurs with a high frequency following e and u, 26 times following e and 20 times following u.

o, another rather infrequent vowel, is less restricted in its vowel-to- vowel distribution than é. It may follow any vowel. But it occurs infrequently before other vowels. It occurs twice preceding a, four times preceding i, six times preceding e, and three times preceding é. It occurs ten times before u, and 74 times before another o.

o is much less restricted in its distribution following other vowels. It is found ten times following a, 42 times following i, 49 times following e, 52 times following u, and three times following é.

These figures confirm the strong bias in the language towards vowel harmony with the infrequent vowels é and o, and they indicate the relative restriction of the distribution of these vowels in terms of occurrences of other contiguous vowels.

The sequence aʔe found in a number of bisyllabic roots of the type CVCVC is generally heard in normal speech as a long vowel a. But in slow speech the two vowels are distinct. Informant reaction in writing clearly confirmed the recording of this sequence as aʔe. Several cognate roots in Kalagan, a related language, substitute a single long vowel, a:, for the aʔe sequence in Manobo. Examples:

kaʔen	(in Kalagan ka:n)	'eat'
gaʔen	(in Kalagan ga:n)	'lightweight'

Vowel Distribution in Reference to Contiguous Consonants:

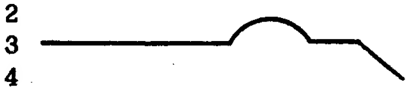
In our early investigations it appeared that there might be a significant interaction between the infrequent vowel é and certain consonants. A check was made of all the roots containing this vowel. The consonants contiguous to é were listed and their frequency compared with the expected on the assumption that there was no significant interaction, only random association. The results suggest that there is no significant interaction, except perhaps with ʔ. This could be explained by the fact that both ʔ (glottal stop) and é occur more frequently in the final syllable of a root than elsewhere.

CONSONANT	OBSERVED	EXPECTED	CONSONANT	OBSERVED	EXPECTED
l	36	31	p	12	11
t	15	23	n	6	11
k	24	21	d	8	10
s	16	19	m	7	8
b	20	17	y	3	5
g	9	17	w	7	5
ng	15	12	h	5	5
ʔ	24	12			

It would appear that in general there is no significant interaction between consonants and vowels.

Intonation

BASIC INTONATION PATTERN



This is the most commonly heard pattern. Each word in the utterance, including nonsyllabic words, takes a primary stress. (Stress is nonphonemic and occurs on the penultimate syllable of all words of more than one syllable.) The intonation contour remains level until the penultimate syllable of the final word. Pitch rises on the penultimate syllable, then falls again on the next syllable to the original level unless it is utterance final, in which case it drops yet another level.

3 3 3 2 4
mangay a dutu — 'I am going there.'
go I there

3 2 3 3 34
egdalut a daa — 'I'll return after a brief stay away.'
return I particle

3 2 3 3 4
lumikù a dé 'I'm going home.'
home I particle

3 2 3 3 4
angayan ko ya 'Where are you going?'
go you particle

3 3 3 3 3 3 2 4
hagdi iya wé dalesan 'That is his house.'
his the DP house

3 2 3 4
menabù ka 'Look out! you'll fall.'
fall you

3 32 3 3 34
egkiiyap a doo 'Yes, I would like it.'
like I particle

3 2 3 3 2 4
begayan ku kuna 'I'll give (it) to you.'
give I you

3 3 3 2 4
kuwa ka kayu 'Get the wood!'
get you wood

3 3 3 2 3 34
angay ko wayeg gaa 'Get the water, she says.'
go you water she.says

Morphophonemics

When two vowels are brought together at word boundaries, there may be elision of the final vowel, for example:

anì endà > anindà 'in order that not ...'

kenà di egbeli > kenà digbeli 'where did he buy ...'

This elision helps to confirm the fact that glottal stop is not phonemic in root-initial or word-initial position.

Elision of vowels is mostly restricted to the word endà and the prefix eg-. Vowels brought together at the juxtaposition of other word boundaries do not elide. A nonphonemic glottal stop is interpolated between the two vowels in normal speech as in hauwen di sa utan 'She saw the utan plant.'

There is one exceptional case of syllable elision when endà 'not' and mepion 'good' come together. The resulting expression is usually endapion.

The prefixes ke-, me-, and pe- remain in their basic form when prefixed to roots other than roots that are i initial. When prefixed to a root with i initial, the vowel of the prefix assimilates, becoming i:

-item-	>	miitem	'black'
-iyap-	>	egkiiyap	'to like'

This change is very difficult to detect. But evidence for the change is indicated by the reaction of the language assistant.

When the suffix -en is affixed to a vowel-final root, w is interpolated between the root and the affix if the final vowel is a, u, or o. The nonsyllabic y is interpolated in this position if the final vowel is i. (e is never found in a root- or word-final open syllable.)

gebu 'to bark'	gebuwen di 'it is barking at ...'
pula 'paddle'	pulawen di 'he is paddling the ...'
pila 'how many'	mepilawan dé agdaw 'how many days' stay ...'
ikagi 'speak'	egseikagiyay da 'they speak together'

A glottal stop is interpolated between a vowel-final root and a following suffix -en, -an, etc., if the final open syllable of the root is -wa or -ba:

kuwa-	+	-en	>	kuwaen	'to get'
sugba-	+	-en	>	sugbaen	'to boil up in water'
sawa-	+	-en	>	sawaen	'wife, to marry'

A phonemic glottal stop is also interpolated between a vowel-initial root and a vowel-final prefix.

se- + -ikagi- + -ay > egseikagiyay 'to speak to each other'

There is only one instance of change in a root induced by affixation. When the root haa 'to see, look' is affixed by -en or -an, the final a of the root dissimilates to u.

haa	+	-en	>	hauwen	'to see something'
mehaa-	+	-an	>	mehauwen	'to see something'

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